

Latin American Crisis Outpaces U.S. 'Aid'

By Joseph Hansen

SAO PAULO, Brazil — Kennedy's brief visit to Venezuela and Colombia was hailed in the press here as an enormous success. He was not stoned. This unusual victory for American diplomacy furnished a fresh theme for editorials and speeches about the great promise of the "Alliance for Progress."

On Dec. 19, for example, Lincoln Gordon, the American ambassador to Brazil took the spotlight at a luncheon arranged by leading local businessmen. He spoke at length on the "Alliance for Progress" and how it can assure the future of Brazil.

Gordon declared that industrialization of an underdeveloped country can be achieved along either of two roads: that followed by the Anglo-Saxon countries, or that followed by the Soviet Union. The latter road, he said, involved fearful and unnecessary cost in toil, suffering and inhuman practices such as occurred under Stalin. In reply to the argument that the experiences of the

Anglo-Saxon countries have little relevance for Brazil, Gordon offered the example of Italy — a country lacking an Anglo-Saxon heritage — which was able in recent years to overcome inflation and economic stagnation through the Marshall Plan. The "Alliance for Progress," he contended, can serve a similar function in solving the problems of Brazil.

Gordon avoided mentioning that among other costs of the capitalist system the Italian people suffered two world wars and two decades of fascism and are still plagued by unemployment. Otherwise, his choice of an example was not bad. By pouring billions of dollars into Italy, the battered capitalist system was put in good enough condition to run a few more miles.

But the "Alliance for Progress" envisages nothing like the Marshall Plan for Brazil. The total for all of Latin America over a ten-year period is only \$10 billions — one-fourth of the annual expenditures for war preparations in the United States — and included in that sum are the protected investments of "risk" capital.

Too little and much too late. Latin America is moving on to the road of social revolution. It is true that this movement is irregular and subject to many ups and downs, but the basic direction is unmistakable, and the forces are of such order that it is doubtful that a "plan" many times greater than the Marshall salvage operation could postpone for long the socialist outcome.

To a visitor with eyes to see, the symptoms are startlingly clear. Let me cite the case of Uruguay, which is somewhat notorious among Latin-American revolutionists for its placid way of life.

We arrived in Montevideo during preparations for a one-day general strike. We noted truckloads of chanting and shouting workers touring the streets. Mass meetings were held in various plazas and a march was staged in the center of town to give the strike a good send off the next day.

People in the labor movement with whom we talked (Continued on Page 2)

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Kennedy to Send More GI's Into Vietnamese Civil War

By George Lavan

The unpublicized entry last month of U.S. troops into the civil war raging in South Vietnam apparently was just a small down payment on bigger troop commitments to come.

Robert Trumbull, far eastern correspondent of the *New York Times*, who estimates the size of U.S. forces already involved in the campaign against the Viet Cong, as the South Vietnam guerrillas are called, at about 2,200, writes (Dec. 31): "Washington is prepared to add considerably to the U.S. military presence in South Vietnam . . . The recent arrival of 40 troop-carrying helicopters to be operated by U.S. army units working in conjunction with South Vietnamese forces was believed to be only the beginning of direct American assistance for a tactical role. It is understood in Saigon that Washington stands ready to provide all the military muscle needed to beat the Viet Cong, including ground troops if necessary."

Though the American public has not yet even been informed by the Kennedy administration of U.S. entry into the southeast Asian country's civil war, last month's ordering of U.S. troops to accompany the South Vietnam army into combat and "to shoot back if fired upon" has already produced American casualties. It is known that in the first few days of this military participation one GI was killed and three wounded. Now it appears that a U.S. sergeant, originally listed as AWOL, was actually taken prisoner. Viet Cong guerrillas are reported to be touring him through villages as a live example of "an American imperialist trying to conquer South Vietnam."

So far those U.S. troops being sent to South Vietnam are said to be mostly air force and specialized units, but it is improbable that, having got involved, the Kennedy administration can long refrain from shipping large numbers of infantry. It should be recalled that U.S. involvement in the Korean War also began with promises of sending only air force and specialist units.

The fact is that the corrupt and brutal Diem dictatorship is uni-

versally hated by the people of South Vietnam. The Viet Cong guerrillas are so strong not only because the population is on their side but because many of them are fighters by night and peasants by day. Moreover, the soldiers of the Diem's army have little stomach for laying down their lives for the hated government. This is particularly true of the "draftees," many of whom are simply rounded up on the streets and shoved into uniform. U.S. military experts are making a big to-do about ways of improving morale and fighting spirit of the Diem's army.

The attitude of the population may be gleaned from U.S. reporters' remarks such as the following from the *N.Y. Times* article cited above: "One of the most serious problems facing Saigon and its U.S. supporters is the apparent public apathy on the war with the Viet Cong. Peasants in country's villages and hamlets accept the Viet Cong's depredations passively . . . Some say the reason for this apparent apathy . . . is an Asian characteristic to accept the vicissitudes of war quietly."

62 Ceylon MP's Urge Rehabilitation of Trotsky

Sixty-two Members of Parliament in Ceylon have appealed to Soviet Premier Khrushchev hailing the recent rehabilitation of people falsely condemned in Stalin's frame-up trials and urging a public revision of the verdict against Leon Trotsky, "the most famous of the persons thus condemned in Stalin's time."

Signatures to the petition, which was dated Nov. 23, were not accepted from any Senators or Representatives belonging to the United National Party, which many socialists in that southeast Asian nation consider an anti-Soviet party.

The text of the petition is as follows:

The Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

Your Excellency:

We, the signatories to this ap-

Attack on Mine-Mill Union Danger Signal for All Labor

By Fred Halstead

The Federal government's stepped-up drive against civil liberties was turned directly against the labor movement with a Federal examiner's recommendation Dec. 28 that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union be labeled

"Communist-infiltrated." If the recommendation is upheld, the union will, under the terms of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1954, be deprived of its right of legal certification as a bargaining agent for its members.

The 68-year-old hard-rock min-

ers' union, representing 60,000 workers, is the largest in the non-ferrous metal industry and one of the oldest industrial unions in the country. Loss of certification rights could be a death blow to a union.

Mine-Mill President John Clark, however, announced that the ruling will be appealed and that the union's legal position will not be effected until all judicial proceedings are concluded which should take several years. The ranks of Mine-Mill, which have stood up to an almost continuous attack by the companies and the government for over ten years, are not likely to buckle under this latest blow.

The most immediate effect of the ruling will probably be the encouragement of raiding of Mine-Mill jurisdiction by certain officials of rival unions which — for the moment — are not being attacked under the provisions of the 1954 act. The irony is that if these vultures never have to face such attack, it will be because Mine-Mill withstands the blows.

Should the witch-hunters succeed in destroying one union with this weapon, they'll turn with increased vigor on the next one, and then the next. The fact is that any union in the country can be framed-up on the same kind of

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WIN FREEDOM. William and Celia Pomeroy, jailed for life by the Philippine government in 1951, won a pardon Dec. 29. Their "crime" had been participation in the Hukbalahap guerrilla movement which fought Japanese occupation during World War II and then became a movement for land reform and independence. Pomeroy first went to the Philippines as a soldier during World War II. After his discharge in 1946 he returned there and married Celia (this is their wedding picture) who had been a Huk supporter during the war. Together they became active in the movement which was finally crushed by U.S. arms. A committee headed by attorney Vincent Hallinan was established in 1960 to win freedom for the Pomeroyes.

White Md. Students Honor Negro Girl

Football season "queen" of City College High School in Baltimore was Dorothy Evonne White, a 16-year old Negro girl. She was chosen from a contesting field of 30 by the white student leaders of the all-boys high school. Miss White is a senior at the all-girls Eastern High School which is next door to City. Both schools draw students on an all-city, desegregated basis. Of a student body of 3,247 at City 660 are Negroes; Eastern has 524 Negroes in an enrollment of 3,028.

The judging body at City was composed of student-government and class officers and editors of student publications. All are white. Finalists in the contest chosen from photographs submitted were personally interviewed by the committee. It announced that Miss White was the majority choice on the first ballot on the basis of personality, appearance, poise and speaking ability.

She sat in a special box reserved for the president of the student government and his party at the big game and was crowned at the dance which followed.

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'Alliance for Progress' —How It Works in Haiti

An indictment of Washington's determination to prop up tyrants as a barrier to social progress is contained in a Dec. 30 *North American Newspaper Alliance* syndicated article on the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Haiti. These are some excerpts:

"The Haitian people are seething under a reign of oppression and assassination. Directed by a strongman, the pampered army and the civilian police run the country. Corruption is rife in the government. Most of the resources of the country are underdeveloped. The people are impoverished and neglected. The United States is bolstering the regime with funds and arms.

Country Doctor

"Ruling over the Western third of a Caribbean island shared with the Dominican Republic is a country doctor who came to power four years ago . . .

"In his 1957 presidential campaign Duvalier appealed to the 90 per cent of the population which is black . . . However, since he took office, light faces have dominated his cabinets.

"Duvalier has extended his six-year mandate before the first four years have expired, although the constitution allows only one term. He made the move after a side-election (with only Duvalier followers on the ballot) which was engineered after the government overcame the most serious threat to its crisis-studded reign: a four-month boycott by the university students . . .

"In the past, when the pressure of the people became too great, a group of officers frequently gave the final push to help get the president out of office in order to prevent bloodshed. But if officers of the present general staff, that brought Duvalier to power, should

be inclined to defect, they would feel the muzzles of secret police in their backs.

"Many gun-toting government officials earned their stripes by commandeering their own gangs to maintain Duvalier in power.

Informers and Spies

"They work closely with a vast network of informers and spies easily recruited among the hungry population. Many domestics thus supplement their \$6-a-month income and knowing Haitians watch their conversation when a beggar saunters over to their car or a boot-black wanders by. The hotels are infested with chauffeurs and servants with ever-listening ears.

"Duvalier, shortly after taking office, disbanded the whole National Assembly in favor of a new Duvalier slate; the ranks of the teachers were purged by imprisonment and dismissal; the French archbishop, a Haitian bishop, and eight priests were expelled; the heads of the Trade Union Federation and the two strongest unions, the Sugar Workers' and Chauffeurs' Union, fled abroad.

Gag Rule

"No criticism of the regime is permitted in the press. Opposition party leaders are in exile. Their active supporters pass their time either in jail or under constant surveillance. The population generally finds it wise to stay off the streets at night.

"United States policy is caught between the Haitian people's resentment of our support of an inept regime which couldn't even meet its payroll without United States funds, and the danger of letting fall a man the State Department considers a defense against the popular appeal of Castro just across the strait."

...Gov't Attack on Mine-Mill Union

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evidence used in this case against Mine-Mill.

The Dec. 28 ruling, which was made by Francis A. Cherry, an examiner for the Subversive Activities Control Board, comes as Mine-Mill faces a jurisdictional battle in several areas with officials of the United Steelworkers of America. The most crucial of these is the Subbury area of Ontario, the largest non-ferrous mining district in North America.

Though the ruling would not directly effect Mine-Mill's legal rights in Canada, some Steelworkers officials there licked their chops over the ruling hoping the bad publicity would weaken their rival.

Bureaucrat Gloats

"This only substantiates the position of the CIO when they expelled Mine-Mill in 1949 . . . It shows Mine-Mill is a union that is falling apart at the seams."

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

The First Year of the Kennedy Administration. An appraisal by Myra Tanner Weiss, editorial board member, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Dec. 12, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Fair Play Welcome Party for Ed Shaw, Midwestern Representative, FPCC, just returned from Cuba. Dancing, refreshments. Fri., Dec. 12, 9 p.m. 20 Spruce St. (Take any subway to City Hall, then walk one block.) Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

gloated D.M. Storey, Steelworkers legislative director in Toronto.

The membership of Mine-Mill was thrown out of the CIO — along with the membership of some ten other unions — when the right-wing labor leaders brought Truman's witch-hunt into the labor movement. That resulted in more than a decade of red-hunting within unions and jurisdictional warfare between them, and was a major factor in the decline of the labor movement during the 1950's.

In 1955, the Federal government initiated the action which resulted in last month's ruling against Mine-Mill.

Tried During Strike

In 1956, eleven officers and former officers of the union were indicted under the non-Communist affidavit clause of the Taft-Hartley Act, but the case was left in abeyance. Then, in September, 1959, at a crucial point in a strike for a new contract with the country's major copper producers, the Mine-Mill officials were brought to trial in the Federal court at Denver.

To make matters worse, the other major unions in the industry — the Steelworkers and Machinists — settled with the companies, leaving Mine-Mill to fight alone. The strike lasted six and a half months, but the union won. During the strike, the Teamsters union guaranteed a \$100,000 loan for strike relief to Mine-Mill members.

The eleven defendants in the Denver case were convicted and are now appealing the case. A mutual assistance pact between Mine-Mill and the Teamsters was attacked at hearings of the Eastland Senate Internal Security Committee last Oct. 3.

Women for Peace Hold Spirited Rally In San Francisco

By Maria di Savio

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 31 — Five hundred people, mainly women, attended a two-hour peace rally yesterday at Union Square sponsored by Women Acting for Peace.

They heard brief talks by Pearl Mindel, San Francisco head of the group; Robert Symonds of the San Francisco Actors Workshop; Dr. Frances Herring, national leader of American Women for Peace; Rita Moreno, star of *West Side Story*; and Gert Chiarito, whose program of folk songs is heard over KPFA-FM, Berkeley, and who chaired the rally.

Dr. Herring outlined future projects to be undertaken by Women Acting for Peace. These include a February motorcade to Sacramento protesting the efforts of Gov. Brown and the state legislature to push through a mammoth fallout shelter program and regular "first of the month" nation-wide demonstrations for peace.

She said gains are being made to link the movement with similar ones throughout the world with the result that on Jan. 15 there will be demonstrations of women in Washington, Moscow, most of the European capitals, some of the capitals of South America and Asia, and at least one in Africa.

Cop Admits Framing Man That He Shot

A vivid example of what innocent people can suffer at the hands of trigger-happy cops was provided in St. Louis when Patrol Wolf Hochman was indicted for perjury Dec. 23. Police said he admitted he had falsely stated that a man he had shot had been armed with a straight-edge razor.

According to official accounts, Eural Thomas, 22, victim of the shooting which occurred July 29, 1960, was riding in a car with a group of friends which was stopped by two policemen. Hochman reportedly opened the door where Thomas was sitting and fired his revolver, inflicting a flesh wound in the arm. Thomas was taken to a police station where a sergeant told him a razor had been found in the car. According to investigators, Hochman now admits the razor he showed in corroboration was his own.

When he was arrested, Thomas said, "the policeman told me he wished he had killed me so he wouldn't have to make out a police report."

.. Ceylon MP's

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ty in any respect he would immediately place himself at the disposal of the police authorities of the USSR. Your Excellency is also no doubt aware that Trotsky did in fact go voluntarily before the celebrated Dewey Commission which after a careful and prolonged investigation accepted Trotsky's positive proof that Stalin's charges against him were false.

In all these circumstances we appeal to you to cause a public and authoritative revision of the proceedings and the alleged evidence against Trotsky, bringing to bear upon the revision the known established facts which were in no manner referred to at the "trial."

Permit us to add that the authorizing of such a revision by the Government of the USSR will redound enormously to the credit not only of the USSR but also of the entire international working class movement.

... Latin American Crisis

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later judged that the one-day demonstration was not a complete success. Stores stayed open. Government-operated buses and individually-owned taxis continued to run. And not all plants were down.

However the evidence was sufficient to show that this quiet country is being pulled irresistibly into the great continental upheaval.

And what was the strike about? A demonstration of sympathy to help the packinghouse and wool-processing workers who in various ways, including strike action, are putting pressure on the government to do something about unemployment.

Mass unemployment in this tiny land of three million people is due, in turn, to a narrowing of the Uruguayan sector in the world market for wool, textiles, grain and meat. The "Alliance for Progress," it seems, has no provision for an alliance with the American farm bloc that would open the U.S. market to Uruguayan agricultural products on a big scale; and other consumption areas have cut down purchases.

Argentine Problems

Argentina, a much bigger country, appears even less capable of utilizing the "Alliance for Progress" to solve basic economic and social problems.

While we were in Buenos Aires, a six-week strike of the railway workers came to an end. It was a difficult strike of a defensive character. The government had fired some 75,000 railroad workers out of a total of 200,000. The reason for this inhuman measure — typical of the price of the capitalist system — was simply to lower the wage structure. Competition from trucking has cut into railway earnings to such an extent that the capitalist press describes the Argentine railway system as a "cancer."

The government did its utmost to isolate and smash the strike. Some trains ran under army orders and under protection of armed forces. Bribes in the form of lump settlements were offered a layer of workers.

But the two railway unions stuck tough and finally won a partial victory — a three-month postponement, during which time the fate of the 75,000 will be reconsidered.

The solidarity of the rank and file was decisive in gaining this breathing space. In addition the strikers were aided by a three-day general strike called as a demonstration of solidarity.

2 General Strikes

The Argentine labor movement is debating the role of the leadership in the three-day general strike. As in the two previous general strikes this year — one for 24 hours and the other for 48 — the pressure to do something on a big scale came from the rank and file. The 72-hour stoppage partially paralyzed activities but did not gain what was possible. The leadership dampened militant action instead of stepping up the tempo and blocked the strike from taking the political direction sought by the ranks.

The most significant feature of this struggle, insofar as the relations between American imperialism and the Argentine ruling class are concerned, is the attitude which the Frondizi government feels compelled to take toward the working class. The "Alliance for Progress" makes no provision for unemployment in such a basic part of Argentina's economic structure as the railway system. On the contrary, to meet Kennedy's requirements for dollar handouts, Frondizi must throw 75,000 families out on the streets.

Widespread unemployment, or erosion of working-class purchasing power through inflation, these are among the principal forces im-



Frondizi

pulling the Latin-American masses into class struggle. On the other hand, clients of the "Alliance for Progress" seek to display their capacity for firm rule in order to assure a "favorable climate" for American investments.

We saw an outstanding example of this last week in Brazil. Within two days from its beginning, Governor Carvalho Pinto broke an "indefinite general strike" in São Paulo, the most highly industrialized area in all of Latin America.

The workers of São Paulo had reason enough for action. Despite all the promises of prosperity under the "Alliance for Progress," the cost of living in Brazil has gone up an estimated 45 per cent since last year. The strike demand was one-month's pay as a Christmas bonus.

Inadequate Preparation

However, the strike was organized with insufficient foresight. While customary preparations were made for an ordinary strike, the leaders overlooked the possibility of violence being used against an "indefinite" general strike.

The government, on the other hand, decided to utilize the strike for a demonstration of force and made all-out preparations. It declared the strike "illegal" and the press took up the hue and cry about "outside agitators" and "communist influence."

On Dec. 13, the night the strike was to begin, police raided union headquarters throughout the city. Pickets were arrested wherever they appeared. About 1,300 were imprisoned, including virtually the entire strike leadership.

Unprepared to meet such measures, the leaders felt forced to call off the strike. This was the background for the stirring message from Ambassador Gordon about the virtues of the "Alliance for Progress" in defending the democratic way of life.

The crisis in Brazil, however, is of such profound character that even capitalist circles are debating how close the country is to a major upheaval. For instance, the lead editorial in the Dec. 14 *O Estado de São Paulo*, a Latin-American version of the *New York Times*, discusses whether Brazil is not in a "pre-revolutionary phase."

Ruling Class Worried

In some sectors of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, I was told by a journalist in position to know, the prevailing mood about the future is fear and uncertainty. Along with this is sinister talk about the "need" for a military dictatorship. Large-scale buying of dollars in the past few months, which brought the cruzeiro to a new low, is evidence of the pessimistic mood. Evidently some of Kennedy's best Latin-American friends find little in the glowing advertisements about the "Alliance for Progress" to inspire confidence.

As for the workers and other oppressed layers of the population, they are showing what they think about Kennedy's promises in the way that comes most natural to them — action.

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The Fight for Job Security

Although job security is being steadily undermined by automation and periodic economic slumps, union officials continue to duck their leadership responsibility in the fight to defend labor's interests. They seem to hope that either the problem will go away or that the bosses' government will do something about it, or that they can disenfranchise the unemployed for non-payment of union dues.

A different view is taken by workers now jobless and by those who fear they may get the ax any day. They want union action to protect their jobs through a fight for shorter hours with no cut in pay. Their pressure has led to formal union demands for a shorter work week but usually these demands get lost in the shuffle during contract negotiations.

Pressure from the ranks was reflected in the recent AFL-CIO convention decision to advocate shorter hours and higher wages. Press statements from the convention stressed contract negotiations in New York City where transport workers demanded a cut from 40 to 32 hours a week and electrical workers called for a 20 instead of a 30 hour week.

Last week a settlement was reached between the New York Transit Authority and the Transport Workers Union representing subway employees and bus drivers. It provides wage increases and new fringe benefits but the work week remains at 40 hours. No doubt the union negotiators had a tough problem to handle in a complex situation. Still the cold fact remains that the TWU came out with a contract that puts the membership in a hole for another two years on the issue of reduced hours.

At this writing Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers continues to press its demand for a 20 hour week. The union has put its case strongly through a letter by business manager Harry Van Arsdale which we reprinted in our Jan. 1 issue. What the outcome will be remains an open question.

Somewhere along the line the unions must make a stand-up fight against the bosses on the issue of shorter hours with no cut in pay. Evidence mounts that the workers will have to find new leaders to make the fight.

Fast Shuffle for Ydigoras

Belize, or British Honduras as it's better known in this country, has never been acknowledged as British territory by Guatemalans. They claim it — and probably with justice, certainly with more than British imperialism ever had to it.

But the chance of weak Guatemala getting it away from the British lion has always been slim as long as the U.S. — the "policeman" of Latin America — refused to tolerate any land-grabbing from its British ally.

So the "strong-man" regime of Gen. Ydigoras in Guatemala used the Belize issue for years to divert popular discontent from domestic economic misery and political misrule into nationalist anger against British imperialism.

Now it appears that Ydigoras thought he had it made with Washington to satisfy completely or at least partially the claim on Belize. But a snag developed. The Guatemalan ruler revealed the details of the deal and a double-cross by Washington in a New Year's Eve speech that has set the "New Frontiersmen" on their ears.

Ydigoras disclosed that when the secret military bases for training the forces that invaded Cuba were set up in his country it had been agreed that in return for such "a great favor" Guatemala was to have "a just price." This price, he declared, was the promise of a "friendly government" to use its good offices "to convince Britain to return Belize to us."

The unnamed "friendly government" is interpreted — and correctly — by all Guatemalans and even U.S. newsmen as meaning the United States. But, Ydigoras complained, "The commitment assumed with Guatemala has not yet been discharged or fulfilled."

State Department spokesman Lincoln White hastily denied that the U.S. had made any agreements whatsoever about British Honduras. This, of course, tells us nothing about the true facts. The Jan. 3 *New York Times* reported from Washington that high administration figures connected with the April Cuban invasion are stressing that there is "no written record" of such a promise to Ydigoras.

But at the end of the *Times* story appears this illuminating sentence: "Some officials here suggested that 'conceivably' such a promise might have been made casually to President Ydigoras by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency, which handled the April invasion."

Moral: There is no more honor among secret agents of imperialism and Latin American quislings than there is among ordinary thieves. Ydigoras should have known enough to get it in writing — though even that wouldn't have saved him from a double-cross. And the CIA should have realized that a double-crossed Ydigoras would blab and have acted accordingly. After all, it runs training schools where agents are taught various methods of forestalling just such sorehead blabbing. Swift, effective action might have spared Washington its present embarrassment.

'The End of Stalin' — A British View

[The following are excerpts from an article, *The End of Stalin*, by Raymond Fletcher which appeared in the Nov. 10, 1961 issue of *Tribune*, the left-wing British Labor weekly.]

We believe the factual material contained in the article is of value and that Fletcher's appraisal of current political relations within the Soviet bloc is of serious interest.

Because of space limitations we cannot reprint the entire article. In the course of it Mr. Fletcher develops the thesis that the development of Stalin's monolithic rule was a logical outgrowth of "the nature of the revolution itself" and of the centralized organization of Lenin's Bolshevik party. We believe this viewpoint is incorrect and that the ultimate restoration of Soviet democracy will prove a vindication of the proletarian character of the 1917 revolution and of the Leninist concept of a democratically centralized Marxist party.]

The removal of Stalin's body from Lenin's mausoleum is a kind of symbolic third death for the former dictator. His first came in 1953, and his second in 1956, when he was posthumously executed at the 20th Congress of the party on which he had stamped his own image.

Dead physically, dead politically, it is now his turn to die in another way. His monstrously inflated historical reputation is being chipped out of Russian history as surely as his name from the Mausoleum.

"The name of Stalin," said *Izvestia* almost on the eve of the 20th Congress, "is close and dear to millions of toilers all over the world. In millions of hearts burns the inextinguishable flame of his word."

A different Stalin was described to the 22nd Congress by the editor of *Pravda*. In the last years of his life, Mr. Satyukov revealed, "Stalin withdrew from both the party and the people. He did not know, and did not want to know, how the Soviet people lived and what were their problems."

Elastic Term

Stalinism is an elastic term that has been used to describe many different things. Stalinism was one-man domination of the Communist Party, large-scale terror, large-scale purges, a personality cult that had not been seen on earth since the Roman Empire went into decline, the systematic falsification of history, rule by iron-minded bureaucrats, and the forcing of Soviet cultural life into paths decreed by Stalin.

Stalinism was all these things — and more. No wonder, therefore, that the premature anti-Stalinists (i.e., those of us who attacked him while he was still alive) should have used the term Stalinism as an expression of moral abhorrence as well as a political description.

Such usage is still justified, but stretching the term too widely does not help anyone to understand why the 22nd Congress devoted so much of its time to the crimes of the Stalin era.

It is simply not true, for example, that the Chinese Communists are pursuing a Stalinist policy. They are doubtless prepared to enter into marriages of convenience with some of Stalin's former henchmen in the Soviet Union and with Enver Hoxha (whose devotion to Stalinism is a camouflage for the attitudes and policies of a bandit chief.) But their theories are anything but Stalinist in inspiration.

In so far as the present dispute between the Russian and Chinese parties echoes the disputes in the Russian party in the 1920's, the Chinese are taking the Trotskyist side of the argument. Their views on the future course of the Asian revolutions might have been lifted from Trotsky's work, *The Permanent Revolution*.

Trotsky's thesis, developed dur-



Stalin

ing and after the 1905 revolution, was that there could be no half-way houses in the revolutions that would take place in this century. No matter how backward the country, or how small its working class, the logic of revolution would drive the Communist-led workers to power. Are not Mao's views rather similar, despite his verbal repudiation of Trotskyism?

I am not trying to stick inappropriate labels on any Communist leader: I am merely underlining the fact that many so-called experts on Communism are doing so. Mr. Khrushchev's pounding his desk with his shoe at the United Nations signified no reversal to Stalinist type. Stalin would never have done anything half so human.

What Impelled Probe?

Now, with the central term of the argument more clearly defined, what of the argument itself? What impelled the 22nd Congress to probe so deeply into crimes in which so many of the present Communist leaders were implicated? Why the public degradation of a corpse?

The answer cannot be found in the Congress itself. What happened in the Grand Kremlin Theatre reflected what is happening among the 214 million Soviet citizens outside. Economic successes, scientific achievements and rising living standards have generated self-confidence; and confident people ask questions.

These questions must now be answered by the party. "In party political writing," Mr. Isaac Deutscher told me in an interview recently (*Tribune*, July 7, 1961) "a kind of freeze has been imposed on the recent past. The victims of the purges, with some exceptions, are left in a state of not being condemned yet not being rehabilitated."

"But this cannot last. There is among thinking people in the Soviet Union — reflected in the novels that are read and written — what I would call a healthy obsession with the purges. The victims are not being allowed, in the public mind, to vanish as ghosts."

"There is a deep spiritual need among the Soviet people to have this terrible chapter in their history disclosed and understood. Such an overawareness of the past is conducive to the awakening of the critical mind and spirit."

To understand the depth and strength of this need only a slight effort of the imagination is needed. Just assume that the British public had discovered that the Timothy Evans tragedy — the execution of an innocent man — had been only one of thousands of similar tragedies.

Assume further that many of

the victims of these judicial murders were not obscure, ordinary citizens, but once revered public figures — even national heroes. It is not difficult to imagine the consequences. The campaign against capital punishment would become, almost overnight, the most powerful force in British politics; and a majority of MPs [Members of Parliament] would be driven out of public life by a great wave of indignation.

The numbers of those killed in Stalin's purges is still not known. But a few figures will reveal something of their horror and indicate its extent.

Of the 22 members of the party central committee that led the revolution, only five, including Stalin, died natural deaths. The other 17 were all shot as wreckers, Fascist agents, counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the State they had brought into existence.

In 1934, the 17th Congress of the party was convened. Seventy-one members were elected to its enlarged central committee and 68 accepted as candidate members. Five years later, at the 18th Congress 55 central committeemen and 60 candidates had disappeared. 98 of them, Mr. Khrushchev revealed in 1956, had been shot as counter-revolutionaries.

Delegates Liquidated

But this was not all. "The same fate," added Mr. Khrushchev, "was met by the majority of those at the 17th Congress. Out of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, 1,108 were arrested on charges of counter-revolutionary crimes." Most of these, it goes without saying, were "liquidated" — to use the perverted terminology of organized terrorism.

The terror hit other organizations than the party. Every Commissariat, as Ministries were called those days, was affected from top to bottom. The number of arrests ran into millions, the number of executions into thousands. What happened in the Army after the execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other general officers in June, 1937, was repeated in other organs of the State . . .

But Tukhachevsky, was not alone. Shortly after his execution, the head of the Political Administration of the Army, Gamarnik, took his own life. His suicide was the prelude to a purge in the course of which 20,000 officers were arrested — a quarter of the total — and some 5,000 shot.

According to Beck and Godin, themselves victims of the purges, "only two out of five marshals of the Soviet Union escaped arrest, two of 15 army commanders, 28 of 58 corps commanders, 85 of 195 divisional commanders and 195 of 406 regimental commanders." . . .

The GPU, rechristened as the NKVD, seemed to have gone mad; in fact, during the 1934-36 purges Stalinist stalwarts like Rudzutak, Chubar, Kossior, Postyshev and Eikhe — Mr. Khrushchev quoted extensively from Eikhe's tragic final appeals for justice in his 20th Congress speech — were prominent victims. And the chief organizer of these purges, the infamous Yezhov, was the last casualty in them . . .

Special Offer To New Readers

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A Bareback Circus Performer?

Luther Hodges' Civil Rights Switch

[To divert attention from its broken promises for civil-rights legislation, the Kennedy administration has been giving top "new frontiersmen" a heavy propaganda build-up as personal champions of racial equality. This false image has rubbed pretty thin recently in the cases of two cabinet members: Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara persisted, despite a flood of protests, in addressing a racially segregated banquet in Georgia; and Postmaster General Day upon being forced to reinstate a postman, victimized because he heads the Savannah NAACP, could not refrain from issuing a statement which reeks of prejudice. Now a third member of Kennedy's official family has had the editorial spotlight of one of the South's leading Negro newspapers turned on his professions of tolerance and brotherhood. The following editorial from the Dec. 9 *Carolina Times* is reprinted in full. EDITOR.]

Since North Carolina's former Governor Luther Hodges has been elevated to President Kennedy's cabinet as U.S. Secretary of Commerce, it is hard for Negro leaders of this state to determine whether he is a Janus with two faces looking in opposite directions, a chameleon with the power to change his color in accordance with "where he is at" or a bareback circus performer who is able to ride two horses at the same time.

Secretary Hodges' recent speeches in Chicago, Washington and elsewhere on the matter of giving equal employment and educational opportunities to Negroes of the South are a far cry from what Hodges advocated for Negroes when he was governor of North Carolina. It will be recalled that this same man appealed to the more than one million Negro citizens of this state to accept "voluntary segregation" rather than contend for integration in public schools. The then governor of North Carolina, instead of using the power of his office to advocate compliance with the 1954 ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court on segregation in public schools, did just the opposite.

We do not believe that Hodges has changed one iota from what he was when he was North Carolina's chief executive. We rather think that he is "the same old coon with just another ring around his tail." We, therefore, would warn Negro leaders of the nation not to be hoodwinked by Hodges' suave lip service. The former governor of North Carolina is a smooth, slick and smart operator who knows his way around. It should be remembered, according to a most reliable source, that at the 1960 Democratic National



Convention, meeting in Los Angeles, the N.C. delegation had been previously pledged by Hodges to Lyndon B. Johnson for the presidential nomination but when the delegation arrived in Los Angeles it developed that Terry Sanford had already made a deal with the Kennedy forces. As leader of the North Carolina delegation Hodges raised such a howl that he was assured by the Kennedy forces that if the latter were elected Hodges would be taken care of. Thus the appointment of the former N.C. governor to the position of U.S. Secretary of Commerce.

Negro leaders also need to be reminded that Hodges recently attended a segregated Democratic rally in South Carolina and maneuvered himself out of the embarrassing situation to the national Democratic administration by declaring afterwards, with his tongue in his cheek, that he did not know the meeting was segregated. Negro leaders will also need to remember that there is still a question mark hovering over Hodges' ownership or part ownership in the segregated Howard-Johnson restaurants located in the Durham-Southern Pines areas of North

Carolina. There is strong evidence that the U.S. Secretary of Commerce has not actually sold his interest in the restaurants to his former gubernatorial administrative assistant but that the transfer, if made at all, is in reality only a straw title. Secretary Hodges' recent pronouncement in a speech before a Jewish audience that he has gone to Washington where he can fight race prejudice does not impress this newspaper. If race prejudice is wrong and one has a conviction that it is wrong, he should have the moral courage to fight it wherever he finds it. We rather think pressure from the top of the Kennedy administration has forced Hodges to speak out against discrimination and other injustices against Negroes and other racial minorities.

We do not believe that on the race question that there is any basic change in the philosophy of Hodges as U.S. Secretary of Commerce from that of Hodges as governor of North Carolina. Once he is back on southern soil as a permanent fixture, it is our opinion that he will be doing business at the same old stand of white supremacy.

Kennedy administration are reported to have persuaded the president that such an order at any time before the adjournment of Congress would cost him Southern votes on his tariff program and other proposals. — A Dec. 27 *New York Times* dispatch.

It Takes Nerve — In his Jan. 1 inaugural speech, New York's Mayor Wagner told the labor movement it should not seek wage increases for those already receiving "high" pay but concentrate on improving sweat-shop wages. Three days earlier the victorious Democrat signed a bill hiking his pay from \$40,000 to \$50,000 a year. Salaries of the five borough presidents were upped from \$25,000 to \$35,000; the controller's pay went from \$30,000 to \$40,000; the city council president's from \$25,000 to \$35,000; while each of the city councilmen were boosted from \$7,000 to \$10,000 a year.

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Falldown Protection — "Newest use for the drab little cans of emergency drinking water bought from Navy surplus storage — a mix for highballs. Washington diplomatic set discovered that fallout-proof distilled water is free of the chemical taste of tap water, and they're buying up the little cans in bulk to stock in their bars as mixes with Scotch and Bourbon." — *The Insider's Newsletter*.

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Letters from Our Readers

From Panama

Panama City, Panama

I am enjoying my visit here tremendously and regret I will only be able to stay a few weeks, having to leave right after New Year's.

The solidarity among the workers is inspiring and you get the feeling of a working class that is ready to struggle at any moment. In the wooden tenements that form the workers' quarters one sees men with black berets and little pins of the Panamanian flag. The workers are Fidelistas with no qualms.

Because of the hostility to the occupation of the Canal Zone there is strong anti-U.S. sentiment. This is heightened by the arrogance of the North American Zone residents, an arrogance that is unbelievable.

One incident: A young woman left one of the commissaries (like army PX's, chiefly for U.S. citizens) with a Panameño carrying her purchases. She tried to tell him where to take them, finally shouted, "Don't you speak English? You people are supposed to learn English. Can anyone here explain to him where to take my things?"

I was pretty humiliated to be a witness, but when her shouting about the man's "stupidity" grew worse, I said I would try to help.

"Why didn't you speak up sooner?" she said. "At least some of you learn English."

I first apologized to the man and explained what she wanted. When the man passed by again (I was waiting for a bus) he said to me with great anger: "Now they're sending ones that speak Spanish to deceive us into believing they're our friends."

"No, please. I don't work here. I came to learn from you."

He stared at me, and asked very quietly, "And Cuba?"

"Venceremos." [The Cuban slogan, "We will win."]

We shook hands, both with tears in our eyes.

R.C.

UN and the Congo

Los Angeles, Calif.

Enclosed is \$3 for a subscription to *The Militant*. Would like a comment on the Congo crisis — especially as to why the Soviets do not support the UN action.

L.L.

[Our most recent comments on the Congo appeared in an article in our issue of Dec. 11 and an editorial in the issue of Dec. 18.

To our knowledge, the USSR has not opposed in any decisive way the UN Congo action. Such decisive action would have been expressed in a "no" vote in that body's Security Council. EDITOR.]

Texas Farm Workers

San Antonio, Texas

During our years of union work throughout the Southern states, my wife Grace and I saw much heart-breaking poverty among the people with whom we lived and worked (food, tobacco, sharecroppers, etc.) — but nowhere in the deep South or Southwest have we witnessed such terrible poverty as we see here in the San Antonio area.

San Antonio has one of the most healthful climates in our nation, but it also has one of the highest per-capita tuberculosis rates in the nation. Our local farm workers — thousands of them forced to migrate each year — are hardest hit by TB because so many of them, mostly Mexican-Americans, are subjected to poor housing, starva-

tion wages, chronic unemployment and poverty.

In the face of this, our U.S. government continues to permit big farmers to import Mexican contract workers (braceros) into this area at unbelievably low wages — wages which immediately become the maximum wages for resident farm workers. Fifty cents an hour (some receive much less), even at full-time employment, hardly affords even a subsistence living.

We, together with some friends (including some local migrant workers), have decided to concentrate on this area for the next few weeks to get the TRUTH to Washington, D. C. We cannot believe that importation of braceros at competitive starvation wages would be permitted if our U.S. authorities knew the truth. What sort of stories are some of our big farmers telling our Texas Employment Commission in their applications for imported contract workers? We intend to find out!

You and your friends can help by writing Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Urge him to make a thorough investigation of the bracero situation in this area. Please ask your congressman and senators to do the same. Thanks. Success here will undoubtedly encourage people in other depressed areas to take similar action.

Harry Koger

Wants to Pitch In

New York, N.Y.

The last couple of issues of *The Militant* have been very good. I refer in particular to the Dec. 11 issue — the front page articles on the Reserves, the FBI refusal to act in the Monroe beating and Dobbs' letter offering to help the Communist Party in the fight against the McCarran Act. (Truly, "An injury to one is an injury to all") Tom Paine said: "He that would make his own liberty secure must guard his enemy from oppression, for if he violate this duty he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself."

This leads me to do two things: enclose another (small) contribution and ask why it wouldn't be possible for me to receive six or eight copies of each issue to distribute to various friends and fellow workers that I'd like to try to interest in the paper?

I would attempt to see to it that they receive one, two, or, at the most, three consecutive issues. What think you?

R.W.

[Naturally, we're very happy to facilitate readers' efforts to expand our circulation. Subscribers frequently send us names of friends they think might be interested in the paper and we mail several sample copies to these names and then a request to subscribe. We can also send additional copies of issues as requested by R.W. and our business manager is writing to him to make the practical arrangements. She will be glad to do the same with others similarly interested. EDITOR.]

Two and Two

Dearborn, Mich.

I'll pay for the enclosed two subs and think they will renew. On the other two names, please start them off with a couple of back issues. I hope they stay with us.

You are doing a swell job. Best wishes.

K.H.

Thought for the Week

"All this hullabaloo in the United States press over India's use of force to liberate a part of her own territory . . . is unfair, unpleasant and absolutely unwarranted . . . Just as a point of argument, can anyone tell me why the Americans were so unofficially enthusiastic about overthrowing Castro from Cuba? . . . Is Cuba regarded as an American territory? Does it threaten American security . . . ?" — From a letter to the Dec. 31 *New York Times* by Arun Gandhi, information officer, *The Times of India*.

It Was Reported in the Press

Publicity Pays — Remember those blaring Dec. 20 headlines about full-scale fighting erupting in the mountains of Cuba? The "news" was broken in Miami by Eloy Gutierrez Menoya, self-appointed chief of the "Second National Front Army." The "bloody battle" vanished from the headlines in 24 hours and the AP reported Dec. 21: "Meanwhile, other Cuban exile leaders refused to endorse a fund-raising plan promoted by Senor Gutierrez. The 32-year-old former pro-Castro fighter is selling 'tickets' to support his guerrilla movement."

Our Rational Society — A majority of the world's population goes to bed hungry every night. But, as of Jan. 1, there was an estimated 260-million pounds of turkey left in the hands of U.S. farmers.

Civil Rights Champion — "A proposed executive order forbidding racial and religious discrimination in federally aided housing has been sidetracked temporarily. Some influential persons in the

Kennedy administration are reported to have persuaded the president that such an order at any time before the adjournment of Congress would cost him Southern votes on his tariff program and other proposals." — A Dec. 27 *New York Times* dispatch.

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